

CHIRON
OR
THE EDUCATION OF A CITIZEN
OF THE WORLD

TO-DAY AND TO-MORROW

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CHIRON
OR
THE EDUCATION OF A CITIZEN
OF THE WORLD

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TO
ALL MAKERS OF MEN

It is more important than ever it was before to have a large class in the community capable of seeing the events of to-day against the background of all the yesterdays; capable of taking up new knowledge and making it part of the general consciousness, of resisting superstition, mass suggestion and stampeded opinion; of taking a wide international point of view on public questions.

J. F. ROXBURGH

(from *Eleutheros*).

Education is the key to the new world.

BERTRAND RUSSELL.

L'Europe est en ruines. . . . Pourra-t-on conjurer, à l'avenir, un retour de barbarie analogue à celui dont nous sommes les témoins impuissants. . . . Dérivée ces tendances égoïstes si funestes à la paix du monde, transmuier le penchant à la domination d'autrui en une inclination à la domination de soi-même. . . .

ED. CLAPARÈDE.

Is it not very possible that I may love my own country, without hating the natives of other countries? . . . Most certainly it is. . . . But if it were not, I must own, I should prefer the title of the ancient philosopher, viz., a citizen of the world, to that of an Englishman, a Frenchman, a European or to any other appellation whatever.

OLIVER GOLDSMITH.

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PREFACE

THIS book is prompted by a reading of the Headmaster of Stowe's symposium, *Eleutheros, or the Future of Public Schools*. My only serious quarrel with that book, in which so much is so well and so wisely said, is that it seems to me to offer no adequate solution of the problem which its title poses. If the future of public schools is to be, in all radical respects, what their past has been, it is difficult to see how that future can be justified, and I have searched the pages of *Eleutheros* in vain for any suggestion of a re-orientation of the public-school system which seems to me sufficient.

This is a matter of such moment, not only to the public schools, but also to England and the world, that I, for one,

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cannot leave it at that, and therefore offer this essay towards a solution of the problem as one which may at least provoke further and better attempts, if it does no more. It is intended rather as an attempt to work out a solution along different lines than as a reply to or a criticism of *Eleutheros*, to which I am indebted, not only for the striking sentence which I have quoted on the fly-leaf, but also for much which has stimulated what I have to say.

I do not propose to go beyond the scope of Mr Roxburgh's argument. This discussion is limited to the problem of the education of those upper and middle classes, primarily of English society, which can be conveniently grouped under the phrase of 'public-school classes.' For many reasons, and especially the hard reason of finance, it is from these classes that the culture of a 'citizen of the world' is most likely to be successful in our time, and therefore the education of these classes is the

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most pressing problem with which educationists are now faced. Are the public-school classes of the future to be leaders of a lost cause or leaders of the new world? That is the question.

I should have preferred to avoid the intrusion of any personal note in this urgent debate. But Mr. Roxburgh's qualifications for the task which he has essayed are well known and weighty, and readers may well ask on what grounds I assume the right to hold a brief in this case at all. Such readers have a right to an answer, and since it is probably only such readers who will trouble to read this preface, I will state here such credentials as I have as briefly as I can.

Firstly, though I am and have been a schoolmaster for some fifteen years, and for five years have directed my own experimental school, I have been many things besides this, a soldier, a political officer, a magistrate and a secretary to a High Commissioner in the East for ten

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years in between my scholastic career. Just because it seems almost impossible for the average public-school master who has never been anything else to see the public-school problem in perspective, I suggest that such a mixed experience is itself a qualification for this task.

Secondly, at my own public school, at the university, in my regiment, in government service and among my colleagues in my present profession, I have known all kinds of public-school products and watched them in action under many and varied conditions, and, as boy and master, I have passed through that mill myself.

Thirdly, some five years ago, on retiring, still young, from government service, I determined to attempt to fulfil an old ambition and to establish a school which should endeavour to remedy what seemed to me to be wrong with the public-school system and to retain what seemed to be right. That

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experiment continues. How far we have succeeded in the task which we imposed on ourselves it is difficult yet to judge ; at least we have tried and are going on trying. In the course of it I have had through my hands over 200 boys, the great majority of whom have come hot from the more important public schools of England, of which almost every one has been represented. I have, therefore, had a somewhat unique opportunity for studying the modern public-school product at close quarters and at first hand.

I think I may therefore claim a practical experience of the problem which gives me some right to make inductions. How far I can justify my inductions it is for the reader to judge.

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CHAPTER I

THE PUBLIC-SCHOOL TYPE

WHILE the public-school system is increasingly attacked both from within and without in England, there is a growing tendency on the continent to admire its achievements and emulate its methods. While its demerits are being recognized in England, its merits are being recognized abroad. That is a curious situation due, it would appear, to the fact that both merits and demerits are of a very obvious kind. Our first task is to see what they are.

The merits of the public-school product are generally acknowledged. They are mainly merits of character. Even the most bitter opponents of the system will not deny that the average

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(‘divine,’ or otherwise, according to taste), which the public schools turn out, is distinguished beyond that of almost any other educational system of the present day for ‘guts,’ a certain dogged ability to see a difficult job through and to ‘face the odds,’ for a rare reliability within certain limits, for an adaptability which makes this type, at least superficially, at home in almost every society and in a surprising variety of rôles, for a courtesy of manner which can be both graceful and insolent, and for a capacity for leadership which rarely fails, by virtue of which he can fill almost any position of command as to the manner born. He has a nice sense of justice—within the frontiers of his class and code. He has, for the most part, an equable sense of humour of the type of *Punch* and the London club bars, and a sense of proportion which defends him from megalomania and from taking himself or anything else too seriously. He has,

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at his frequent best, a strong sense of honour, narrow and rigid as the code of 'good form' which breeds and supports it. Like the good soldier of the pre-War régime, he is most valuable when he does not think fundamentally for himself. This he rarely does, and then with a painful effort, and his conduct is therefore based rather upon instinct and tradition, in fact upon what is significantly called 'good breeding,' than upon reason. The good public-school man is entirely reliable so long as you do not ask him to go outside his clearly defined beat of morals and honour. You can predict almost exactly what he will think or do in any given contingency; to ask him to think for himself is generally a very cruel thing to do. The mind and spirit of the well-drilled public-school boy are clad early in life in a certain uniform suit of ideas and behaviour. If he is the right material and the stock size, after a long course of drilling he grows

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into his uniform till it becomes so much a part of himself that to divest him of it is almost to flay him alive. Of the misfits and 'out sizes' this is not the time to speak.

This study of the type is not intended to be satirical, and, on a very wide and close observation of it, I do not think it is a caricature. There are, of course, variants from this norm; there are public-school boys who think for themselves; there are public-school boys who rebel deliberately against the public-school code of ideas and conduct; there are public-school boys who hate their schools and say so, but few will argue that these are typical, and it is with the type, the average public-school boy, that we are concerned here.

The worth of this educational product—for a certain purpose, for a certain kind of state and society and a certain type of citizenship—is undeniable. The good public-school man is an exemplary citizen under certain conditions of

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polity and for a certain purpose. In his place he is far from being either a fool or a failure. On the contrary, when he fills the place in life for which he has been so efficiently and arduously shaped, he is admirable. In his element he has charm of manner, he has strength of character, he has intelligence, he has practical shrewdness and 'horse-sense,' he has high courage and a unique power of 'sticking it.' That out of his peculiar element these qualities fade and grow fatuous is as probable a fate as that which nullifies the glancing beauty and the flashing fins of the fish out of water.

The demerits of the typical public-school product are as salient as his merits; where qualities are as outstanding as these it is not likely that the complementary defects will escape notice. Saliency of quality presupposes an equal saliency of defect, and the defects of the public-school type are no exception to the rule. These defects

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are the very shadows of the qualities which have been considered. Because the public-school man is trained to a fine and steely courage and endurance, he is often unable to perceive that there are 'guts' of a different quality than his own which are equally worthy of respect. Because he has a rigid code of honour and conduct he cannot adequately conceive or sympathize with any other code. Because he is fine-bred into an 'English gentleman,' he has a radical distrust for any man who is not English or a gentleman, however his good manners may succeed in disguising his scorn. Because his virtue is rooted deep in tradition he cannot escape from tradition and tends to be the slave of it. Because he is a 'gentleman' he cannot often establish any real contact with that vast majority of mankind who are not 'gentlemen.' His caste is as irrevocably and plainly marked upon him as the yellow caste sign on the forehead of the Brahmin.

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Because he has been trained not to think for himself, he distrusts all original thought with an invincible suspicion. Because he has been bred for leadership in a school as inflexible as that of the Samurai, it is not easy for him to accept leadership gracefully except from his own kind. Because he has been trained to rule he cannot easily persuade. In fact, to a greater or less extent, he is narrow in mind, limited in ideas, conventional in conduct, insular and class-bound in attitude, and just because he has these limitations, he is astonishingly strong and competent in his own sphere. Form implies limitation; if his defects were modified his qualities would lose their hard and keen spear-head. An open-minded, unconventional, cosmopolitan public-school man is a contradiction in terms.

One typical public-school man is remarkably like another in all his salient characteristics. There is no

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such uniformity produced by any other modern educational system. That is the outstanding feature of the public-school process. It is, therefore, a process of 'mass production'; it has produced and goes on producing a standardized and strikingly uniform type in mass. Whether or not the public-school system is "just machinery which regulates the outer man and so sets the inner man free," in the most trenchant defence of the system to be found in *Eleutheros*, does not affect this main issue. In fact the very form of the defence admits the mechanical nature of the process. To produce this highly-specialized type, the public-school system is a machine nicely adjusted for the mass-production of a standardized article. Like most other British institutions that machinery has been elaborated as though 'in our sleep' by the subconscious genius of the race, generation after generation refining the process till it approximates with the

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utmost nicety to the end desired. To quarrel with the machine for mass-producing or with the product for its obvious standardization is like quarrelling with Mr Ford for his very similar methods and achievements. Both the public-school system and Mr Ford's factories turn out a standardized product: the question is not whether the process, as a process, is good or bad, but whether there is a market for what it produces. As a highly efficient process, the public-school system is beyond praise. When one considers the astonishingly high quality and uniform excellence—of its kind—of the article which it has produced and the long-sustained perfection of the process, one can only marvel at this triumph of British mechanization.

That there should be some waste product from such a system, that some of the raw material should prove intractable for its purpose, that outside each of these great factories there is, as it

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were, a slag-heap of spoiled stuff, is not to be wondered at. What factory has not its slag-heap? Again the wonder is, not that there is no wastage, but that the waste is so small, that there are so few products of the public schools which are entirely futile or useless to society. For the public-school factories do not only produce one supremely valuable main product, but have found a way to make something of social value even of that material which cannot be employed for its main purpose. The side-products of the public-school system, men who have missed the hallmark and the real mintage through some flaw in grain or native inductility, who fall short of the capacity to command armies, govern provinces or lead parties or businesses, are by no means without social value. The actual and complete wastage, the out-and-out failures, for which the public-school system is responsible, are remarkably few.

The main product of the public

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schools has, in fact, been the 'governing classes,' a type of man adapted for leadership, administration and command. Restricted, in the first place, to the upper classes to whom belonged the hereditary right and duty of governing England, with the access of the middle classes to political power, synchronizing with a great expansion of imperial responsibilities in India and elsewhere, the public-school system showed itself able, during the Victorian age, to absorb this new accession to the ranks of the governing classes, and to do for it what it had done for the upper classes. The system which had produced statesmen born in the purple of the great ruling families to rule England, was able, without violation of design, to provide that army of middle-class administrators which has ruled the British Empire for the last hundred years. It was able to supply the new demand because it was essentially a system for the education of 'governing classes.'

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It is on that main product, the 'governing classes' alone, that the system can be fairly judged. The whole machinery is minutely adjusted for that purpose. Because, for the practical business of governing, character is of more value than intellect, the formation of character tends to be stressed and the training of intellect neglected. Because it is essential that a leader should be sure of himself and that the code of leaders in a far-flung empire should be as nearly identical as may be, the public schools branded the spirits and minds of their products with that standard code of 'good form' according to which they must live and lead. The result has been that for the purpose of direct administration the English public-school boy is hard to equal. He is inured from early boyhood both to respect and to wield authority, to accept responsibility, to be led and to lead. His mind and character are moulded by the steady pressure

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of a strictly graded and ordered society, by that rigid code of ' good form ' which is that of the governing classes, a code from which he is taught that there is no appeal. The faculties which would weaken his efficiency for the purpose of governing are repressed ; those which will strengthen it are fostered.

Until this outstanding fact is recognized all criticism of the system is futile, as futile as to criticize an armament works for not producing ploughshares or Mr Ford for not producing machine-guns.

The main criticisms of the public schools are criticisms of the type which they produce ; to criticize them because they do not produce another type is beside the mark. The average public-school man is not highly intellectual ; academic intellect is a handicap in administration ; few dons take swift decisions. He is class-bound ; that is because he is trained to fill his place in a comparatively small class of governors.

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He is 'insular' ; that is because he is to be the servant of an insular imperialism ; he who is too open-minded concerning the policy which he administers is not likely to administer well. He is a frank Philistine and art means little to him ; his end is action, not thought or feeling. His sense of honour has obvious limitations ; it is the code of the governing classes ; to widen it is to weaken it. He cannot associate intimately with the 'working classes' ; of course he cannot ; he is made in a different mould and for a different purpose ; he is 'not as other men are' ; his every word, his clothes, his very walk, betray him for a Brahmin.

It may be argued that it is not with the object of having their sons manufactured into this administrative, governing type that the majority of parents send their sons to public schools, or even that this purpose is not consciously served by all the schoolmaster servants of the machine. I do not think it is ;

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as a race our purposes are usually obscure to ourselves and others ; we are not fond of rationalizing what we do. Most parents send their sons to public schools for the most apparently insignificant of reasons : because it is a family tradition, because, in the case of the '*nouveau riche*,' they want the '*cachet*,' the caste-mark—they want their sons to be Brahmins too. The fact that, in spite of the immense expense involved, and the yearly increasing criticism of public schools, so many parents continue to do this, is itself an argument for the strong, sub-conscious, racial purpose which really underlies it. It is evidence, too, of the hypnotic hold which the public schools have obtained over the mind of the English 'public-school classes.' In spite of all criticism, in spite of the increasing expense of this process in an impoverished world, in spite of the diminishing demand for the 'governing' type, the public schools continue

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to turn out their yearly quota of boys shaped in the traditional mould. That quota is not only not diminishing, but with the expansion of the middle classes by the war rich, it is largely on the increase.

The public-school type is a product elaborately formed for a certain purpose, the business of governing and leading, and the 'present discontents' with the public schools are only justified if it can be shown that this type is not suitable to present needs and conditions. It has been of immense value; although perhaps to a modified extent, it is still of immense value to the State. The system has produced a 'governing' type to which England owes nothing but gratitude and admiration; it has served her in her great need well and faithfully. Is the need for that type now obsolete? That is the real question. If so, then the public-school system must either be re-adapted for another purpose, as during the War factories were re-

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adapted for the manufacture of munitions, or sooner or later they must go. But is it the business of education to produce 'types' at all? We are forced to a definition of education as the next step in our inquiry.

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CHAPTER II

THE PURPOSE OF EDUCATION

WHAT is the purpose of education—the development of individuality or the training of a good citizen? We cannot get much further without answering that question, and the answer must take the form rather of a statement of conclusions than of an argument which limitation of space forbids. At present there seem to be two distinct schools of thought among educationists. One school, that of the many so-called ‘modern,’ ‘advanced,’ or ‘free’ schools, concentrates on the development of individuality as the main end of education, with little or no concern as to whether the individuality so produced will be one likely to be able to adapt

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itself to the prevalent social system. The other, to which the pundits of the public-school world belong, is mainly concerned with education for citizenship. For that purpose it is plain that individuality must be to a greater or less extent subordinated.

For the individualist school, traditional and especially public-school education is 'slave-education'; its tenets may be studied in a representative book recently published by Miss Dorothy Revel entitled *Cheiron's Cave*. This book and the school of thought which it voices assume as axioms which need little or no proof to-day: firstly, that education is solely concerned with the natural development of the 'natural life' (whatever that may be); secondly, that any and all repression or even any but the lightest guidance of natural impulse (which is invariably right) is educationally a sin; thirdly, that all forms of education which repress or deflect individuality by discipline or by

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force of personality are 'slave-education'; and, fourthly, that true education should lead the child through all the progressive stages through which the human race has passed.

This is the extreme antipodes to the public-school position with its complex system of repressions and its earnest shaping of the boy into a certain type of citizen. For the one self-development and individuality are sacred; for the other they can only be permitted within certain limitations and along certain lines; if individuality obstructs the 'public-school spirit' so much the worse for individuality. That is a clear antinomy which cannot be burked, and our next task is to consider these main premises of the individualist party in education.

Firstly, that education is solely concerned with the natural development of the 'natural life.' The justification for this axiom is said to lie in the new knowledge which modern psychology

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has given to us, and especially in that of Dr Jung; the aim of such natural development is said to be, in Miss Revel's somewhat cryptic phrase, "the evocation of individual creativeness." That sounds like an amplification of the simpler phrase 'self-development' with which so much play is made to-day, with the added inference that any self which is fully and properly developed will be 'creative.' The end of education, therefore, is the production of a creative type and the means to that end the free development of the 'natural life.'

This raises the fundamental question as to what the 'natural life' is, and, when you have found it, whether it is necessarily good and healthy. That the 'natural life' is wholly good Miss Revel and those for whom she speaks appear to accept as gospel without any attempt to define what is meant by the life of nature, merely asserting that 'The New Psychology' demonstrates that man pays for every step which he

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takes away from the natural life. This doctrine appears to go back to the exploded rhapsodies of the Rousseau school about the 'law of nature,' the 'life of nature,' and the rest. But what is the life of nature—the life of the ape-man or the life of Christ? This is no place to discuss so great a question; I must assume here what is now generally assumed, that the 'golden age' and the 'life of nature' theories are now exploded as historical reality. On this matter I can only associate myself with Mr Clive Bell: "Those who have set their hearts on eliminating all that is unnatural, I advise to get back to the inter-tidal scum as fast as fins, flippers or plain prehensile bellies will carry them. . . ." I imagine that the majority of my readers will agree with that, and those who do not accept that premise had better not read this book any further, for what follows will be based on the assumption that education must involve something much more

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than the natural development of the natural life.

So much for the means advocated for the 'evocation of individual creativeness'—what of the end? Is the purpose of education the production of creative types? In all human history, creative types have been those which depart from the norm and have been marked by a greater or less degree of eccentricity. They have been few and far between, and wherever they have arisen conflict has attended their careers. In nearly every case, whatever their eventual value to the race of man or the cause of art, they tend to be an embarrassment to society and to the established order. At present they are the rare exception. Supposing that it were possible to produce a complete generation of such 'creative types,' what kind of society would be the result? In point of fact, the creative type is a sport, a deviation from the norm; for the most part he educates himself and

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he is very rare, the 'leaven in the lump,' maybe. But if all the 'lump' were leaven where would be the daily bread? Any comprehensive scheme of education must, in fact, concern itself with the average man and not with the exceptional man. It is possible that some specialized method of education might be devised for such abnormal types, but that is not the problem for general education or for the public schools. The business of education, considered as a whole, is not the training of 'creative types' but the training of good citizens.

The second point of the 'free' school programme is that any and all repression of 'natural' impulse is educationally wrong, and with this may be considered the third point, that all education in which discipline or force of personality is employed is 'slave-education,' and the fourth, that a true education should lead the child through all the progressive stages of human history, since all these

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are inter-connected. The latter assumption of modern psychology, that, in its progress from infancy to maturity, each human being epitomizes in his own history the history of the race, from animality to civilization, just as the pre-natal nine months of the embryo epitomizes the progress from plasmic jelly to human animal, is now so generally accepted that we may accept it here without further argument. It seems at least extremely probable that this is so and it is a postulate that must have a vital effect on educational theory and method.

But the application of this doctrine by Miss Revel and her school assumes that to facilitate this generic process a policy of educational '*laissez-faire*' must be adopted. That is, it is assumed that, given the minimum of supervision and interference, the child will slide gracefully through all the successive stages of race evolution to that acme of civilization to which his contemporaries have

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now attained. Never interfere, never restrain. When the child wants to wallow in dirt, let him wallow ; if he doesn't wallow then, he will wallow at a more inconvenient stage of life. When the child wants to vent its animal vengefulness, if he has an impulse to kick his teacher on the shins, let him. When the growing boy, arrived at the stage of tribal raiding, wants to raid the larder, see that there is only just enough obstacle to his raid to make it adventurous and interesting. And so on.

But is this the lesson of human history upon which this type of education models itself ? As a matter of history the race has passed through stages marked by strong exterior discipline and authority from barbarism to tribalism and thence to various degrees of freedom and civilization through autocracy, aristocracy, democracy and other forms of rule. The race has never, in all its long and eventful history, been

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left alone or allowed to do just as it liked. It is truer to say that it has been kicked and thrashed into civilization.

If this racial analogy is to be faithfully followed in education, therefore, and the human boy is to be led through the stages of racial evolution, he will not be left alone to develop himself. As in the history of the race, so in the history of the individual, there will be a gradual progress through the various forms of imposed authority. He will bear the yoke of tribal authority, of tyrannical authority, and of an externally imposed law ; he will fall under the spell of hero-worship (or in the language of ' the new psychology,' be inspired by the *libido* of heroes), and so pass on through all the gamut of human history to some form of self-control. In all these stages, except, to a certain degree, the last, far from being left alone to follow his own sweet will or develop his own sweet individuality, he will be dragooned into decency for the greater

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part of his boyhood, and live, as the late Mr D. H. Lawrence advocated, under a "proud, harsh, manly rule," "a fine, delicate and fierce discipline." In point of fact, the public-school system is far nearer to a logical application of this generally accepted postulate of 'the new psychology' than is the system advocated by Miss Revel, and the school of educational thought which the latter represents may now, therefore, be left behind in our further inquiry.

Our examination of it has led to these conclusions—firstly, that education should follow in the individual the evolution of the race, and, secondly, that the goal of general education should be good citizenship. 'Advanced' education of the sort which we have considered can appeal to the high authority of Plato in its assumption that knowledge is innate and that education (as the word implies) is no more than a process of drawing forth that know-

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ledge, but the appeal to Plato can be pushed further than this. For, though he lays down this platitude of education in the *Meno*, elsewhere and especially in the *Republic*, he adds the further principle that education should be a drawing-forth of such innate qualities and knowledge with a definite end, viz., the good of the State, in view, and the codicil puts a very different complexion on this testament of educational principle to which appeal is so often made. For, if it is right, as we have assumed, that education must be pursued with a view to the needs of the State in which the pupil is to live, then the whole of the methods employed in the process must be modified to that end. The innate knowledge and qualities must be drawn forth, but they must be drawn forth in a particular way, and the method of education must be adapted to the polity for the service of which the citizen is to be trained.

We are now in a position to proceed

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to a general definition of education in the light of the foregoing conclusions. Greatly daring, I will word it as follows. Education should be the guided evolution of the innate knowledge and qualities of the child through the stages of human evolution from animalism to civilization with a view to his taking his proper place in that form of polity in which, on attaining maturity, he will find himself. In brief, the aim of good education is good citizenship.

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CHAPTER III

CITIZENSHIP IN THE MODERN STATE

THE conclusion reached in the last chapter, that education should aim primarily at the training of good citizens, is not, we believe, one likely to be disputed by the majority of modern educationists. It is chiefly the diversity of opinion as to the nature of good citizenship which divides their ranks.

What is good citizenship to-day, and—a question still more cogent—what is good citizenship likely to be to-morrow? Education is concerned, not with the good citizenship of yesterday, but with that of the world in which we move and in which our sons will move, a rapidly changing world.

Good citizenship is only good in so

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far as it is good for the ' city ' or polity which it serves. Nor is good citizenship necessarily limited to one type ; there are citizen leaders and citizen followers, citizen statesmen and citizen artisans. Leaders there must be in every state ; the public schools have hitherto supplied the leader class, and it is therefore with the education of leader citizens that we are here concerned. Although it seems certain that the ' public-school classes ' will not hold in the future that unique position in the State which they have held in the past, it seems equally certain that for some time to come, by virtue of their social and financial status, it is from these classes that the leaders of the new world may best be drawn. Our inquiry, therefore, narrows down to the consideration of the chief qualities necessary for leadership in the modern State. In order to perceive the qualities required for leadership in the new world we must first consider the salient features of that modern polity for which

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leaders are to be trained. The world of education turns upon the poles of politics and it is to the main trend of politics in the State for which citizens are to be trained that education must correspond. What are the chief characteristics of the modern world to which the qualities of its new leaders must be matched ?

Such a debate is no new thing, and education cannot concern itself with the fluctuations of political opinion. But when political opinion, modifying or extending previous theories of citizenship, has become generally accepted political principle, it follows that education—if education be training in citizenship—must conform to such principles. Change of polity demands change in education. The method of education which will produce sound citizens for the city-State, for the nation-State, for the imperial State, for a ‘Commonwealth of Nations,’ must differ according to the difference of those polities.

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It is not necessary or possible for our purpose to discuss here the validity or the reverse of modern political and social developments. It is necessary only to inquire whether any of these developments are so far facts of modern life as to demand a conformity of educational method and theory to them. The point at which political opinion, with which education cannot concern itself, passes into political principle, with which education must concern itself, is itself a matter of opinion. But it seems plain enough for our purpose that certain new political conditions and principles are now sufficiently established and commonly accepted to demand such a conformity.

The two most salient features of post-War society and politics are, firstly, a marked tendency towards the formation of new, and the increasing distinction of old, national, cultural and social groups, and, secondly, ideas of co-operation, internationalism and

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federalism which seek to combine those groups for purposes common to them all, but without sacrifice of the group-character which each possesses and cherishes—separatism and co-operation working side by side. Within the individual State these tendencies seem to be moving towards a conception of government by co-operation between parties and classes rather than government by any one 'governing class,' in inter-State politics towards co-operation between States rather than domination of one State by another. The conceptions of a 'governing class' and of a 'ruling power' are equally objectionable to the modern mind.

The key-word of the modern age is co-operation rather than domination, co-operation between employer and employed, between governors and governed, and even between teachers and taught. The clean division of mankind into ruling and subject races, masters and men, which, while it

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obtained, ensured so comfortably that every citizen 'knew his place,' is rapidly passing. The frontiers which formerly held fast between nation and nation, class and class, and even between sex and sex, are weakening under the corrosive influence of a score of forces.

The old frontiers are going down before our eyes and new frontiers are forming. The social as well as the political map of the world was realigned in the post-War confusion. Such a realignment of frontiers is notable, too, in that world of knowledge with which education is chiefly concerned. There the former clear division between the 'cultured' and the 'uncultured' no longer holds good. Whereas, for our fathers, there was, in the main, only one type of culture generally recognized as such, a humanist and literary culture based on the classical languages, the modern man is confronted with many different types of culture which dispute the right to that honoured style.

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The old culture still commands respect, and is still fostered and supported by the public schools, but alongside with it and growing yearly more competitive with it, are to be seen other forms of culture ; a culture proceeding from science, a culture which can best be described as proletarian, based largely upon sociology, and, with the constant conquest of distance and consequent infiltration of conceptions of life hitherto sufficiently remote to be generally ignored, the cultures of other races, an eastern culture, a Slavonic culture, a negro culture, which have a totally different foundation and point of view from that western upper-class culture which once reigned supreme over the minds of western men.

Although these different cultures are often seen to overlap and to intermingle, they are distinct in origin and tendency. They follow different gods. There is no longer one religion of culture bowing the knee in that pantheon of the

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classics where Homer and Virgil, Plato and Horace are revered ; there are other ' high places ' in the land with other prophets. One can no longer say that a man lacking in the older culture is necessarily without culture ; his culture is probably different, different in origin and different in scope. The ' working-man ' is often far more cultured than the public-school man ; but his form of culture is his own and of another order. It is possible to take the somewhat pharisaical attitude that such heretical culture as this is not properly culture at all, but this is merely a quarrel of definition which can hardly be maintained if ' culture ' is defined in its derived sense of the tilling of the mind. The tilling is there, but the seeds and the manner of tillage now vary where formerly they were invariable. There are groups, with an increasing group-consciousness, in the world of culture as in the social and political worlds, and these groups tend often to assume

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a partisan organization. That phenomenon is especially noticeable in the frequent *pour-parlers* between the leaders of scientific and philosophical or religious thought which have so often to-day the character of a political round-table conference.

Everywhere there is to be seen the formation, the increasing separatism and consciousness of groups, and a general levelling-up of the rights and powers of groups, with a consequent tendency to impatience with any exterior control and to emphasis of group-codes and group-dialects. The day of the domination of one race by another, of one social class by another, of one form of culture by another is plainly passing. The fact may be deplored, but it can hardly be denied as a reality of modern life and politics. This being so, the only possibility of advance seems to lie along that line of co-operation which is its concomitant ; any permanent return to methods of

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domination and absolutism, however efficient such methods may seem in comparison with a dilatory and still tentative régime of co-operation by a machinery which is still in the making, is a form of reaction for which, in the present state of affairs, it is difficult to see any issue but disaster.

The need for a mentality in our leaders capable of effective co-operation and free of insular and dominating instincts is therefore one of extraordinary urgency. But the theatre of post-War politics affords too ample proof that such a change of heart is not to be wrought by argument. The mould in which habit of mind and feeling is shaped must be re-formed. We all agree in some measure—the majority of the accepted leaders of modern political thought insist—that in some form of co-operation between classes and peoples rather than in domination the one by the other lies the future progress of our civilization and the pre-

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vention of such another catastrophe as the Great War which that civilization can scarcely survive. But while the prophets sing thus in tune, the people applaud with enthusiasm and straightway plunge into a reactionary conservatism and nationalism.

The reason for this anomaly is not far to seek. We are not educated either for class-cooperation or for State-cooperation. We may agree in principle that we should think in terms not of class but of commonwealth, not of race or of empire alone, but of civilization. But, except for the rare mind which can free itself from the limitations of its education, in practice, with the best intentions in the world, the majority of us are as incapable of such mental pioneering as the baronial class of the Middle Ages was incapable of thinking of the interests of the serf, or the citizen of Renaissance Florence of thinking imperially. In the stress of practical politics we slip back into the

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well-worn grooves in which our minds were trained to run, so that it is possible to hear even now in post-War Europe, a glorification of that most malign fruit of nationalism, 'secret diplomacy,' and the League of Nations tends to remain rather an academic experiment than a dynamic factor in world-politics, and the sentiments of Locarno or the Kellogg Pact to perish stillborn.

The need for such a capacity for co-operation in the leaders of the new world and especially for co-operation between States, is, therefore, far more than ideally desirable ; it is a necessity for practical politics for lack of which it seems that our civilization must inevitably be doomed. The first necessity for the leaders of the new world is that they should be men trained to think in terms, not of domination, but of co-operation, men who can think beyond the frontiers of class and race without betraying those frontiers, who have an understanding of the conditions and a living

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sympathy with the lives and manner of thought and feeling of other classes and peoples who compose the comity of our civilization—'citizens of the world' who can yet be loyal citizens of those closer and minor polities of which they are the members. For it is equally plain that a loose cosmopolitanism in this world of hardening groups is as useless for any effective co-operation as a rigid insularity. The '*déraciné*,' the man without a State, is not a citizen at all, either of his own State or of the world. The need is not for men who represent no point of view at all or are racially colourless, but for leaders well set in their own traditions and group-consciousness who can recognize the right-to-be of other groups and traditions and seek with tolerance and accept with a sane and inclusive statesmanship formulas which can link groups and traditions in a wider and common purpose. The "*déraciné*" cosmopolitan no less than the insular and class-

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bound mind will equally fail that urgent demand. Do the public schools supply it? If they do not, can they adapt their system to meet it?

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CHAPTER IV

THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND THE NEW WORLD

THE modern world requires citizen leaders, leaders well rooted in their own native loyalties and traditions, yet able to comprehend and co-operate with other than their own groups. How far does the traditional public-school type supply or fail to supply those qualities?

That it trains leaders we have seen. But these are leaders who are also governors, trained to lead by domination rather than by co-operation. The main product of the public schools has been, and is, the 'governing classes.' Hitherto the demand for such a class has been commensurate with the supply.

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In the nineteenth century the expansion of imperial government demanded a constantly increasing supply of dominant, self-reliant, masterful and responsible men of affairs and rulers of men. But the twentieth century has shown, not only the impatience of external rule which has been considered, but also a steady diminution in the demand for a governing class. Where the demand for administrative capacity remains, it is usually for administrative capacity of a rapidly changing type.

The public-school boy has made Imperial India ; it is to be doubted whether he is fitted to guide India towards Dominion status. The quality of our administration in our Eastern Empire and dependencies, hitherto manned by the public-school type of Englishman, has changed since the War with a rapidity little understood in England, and it is going on changing. In India, Egypt, Palestine, 'Iraq, and elsewhere, the administrator of to-day

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has rather to guide than to govern. One of the quiet tragedies of our post-War empire has been the disillusionment of the older type of administrative official who has often found himself either forced to adopt a pliant persuasiveness which goes against the grain of his whole breeding, or to resign his place to another, who, though perhaps inferior in brain and character, can yet adapt himself better to this newer type of administrative control. The more characteristic such a man is of the public-school type the less likely is he to be able to make that adaptation. When he has lost his natural job of ruling men he is apt to find that the highly specialized education which has fitted him so well for that task has unfitted him for any other. England to-day is full of men chiselled by the public schools into a governing type who have nothing to govern.

Not only is the type of administrative official thus undergoing a swift and

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radical change, but the field of imperial administration is narrowing more rapidly than it expanded during the nineteenth century with the substitution of ideas of self-government for imperialist control. An advisory administration can be conducted with a fraction of the staff required for direct administration, and the recent sweeping reductions in the Egyptian and other services are indications of what will probably occur sooner or later in all the imperial administrative services.

The conception of rule by a 'governing class' is rapidly ceasing to be acceptable ; the demand for such a class is as rapidly decreasing ; the supply of it is increasing. The public schools continue to turn out this traditional type of 'governing class' with a mechanism which seems, on a review of contemporary conditions, to be as unsuited to their needs as the mechanism of our mining industry seems unsuited to contemporary economic

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conditions. It is a splendid type ; so was that of the Spartan youth ; it is as little adapted to modern life.

An acquaintance with the modern adolescent English public-school boy of those middle and upper classes which will probably continue to sway politics for at least another generation, in any case, reveals the inadequacy of the type of education which these boys receive to give either comprehension of the problems on the solution of which in their lifetime the fate of our civilization seems to depend, or the will or the spirit which makes for effective co-operation. Such boys still show the excellent virtues of their type, but their horizon is certainly not that of the world. They stand, for the most part, where their fathers stood, but perhaps more obstinately than they, since they cannot fail to feel that their position is threatened on every side, and that their place in modern life grows yearly more insecure. The next generation

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which is growing up before our eyes bids fair to be even more limited and insular than the last, trained in a type of citizenship now becoming obsolete, in semi-monastic communities in which the trend of world politics is at best but a distant rumour unrelated to the realities of that remote and cloistered world ; a training often intensified by forces of reaction ; a generation, moreover, for which the bitter lessons of the War are as a ' tale that is told.'

It will, no doubt, be contested that this conclusion is far too sweeping to be quite true, that the accusation that an insular, dominating, ruling type is still the main product of the public schools is an exaggeration, that the public-school man is, in point of fact, more conspicuous for his adaptability than for his rigidity, and that his type is even now adjusting itself to the new conditions. The fact that public-school men, who, a generation ago, would have made their career in one of the adminis-

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trative services, are now filling posts in business houses with success, is often adduced as a proof that this is so. How far the average public-school man is a success in business is still *sub judice* ; there are vigorous voices both for and against his value in this capacity. There can be little doubt that his social ' tone,' his reliability, his doggedness, his flair for leadership have their business worth ; whether the public-school education is the ideal education for business purposes, or the life of business the ideal career for the public-school man, are far more dubious matters. However this may be, whether the product of the public-school system has its value in the commercial world or not, if the function of that system is to be thus diverted from its former peculiar purpose, if it fails to produce leaders for public life in the future as in the past, it is not easy to see how its expensive and elaborate existence can be justified. If the public-school classes

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and the public-school system can no longer supply the world with the citizen-leaders which it needs, their *raison d'être* has gone.

The modern world stands in a desperate need of leaders who can co-operate, who can bridge the gulfs between class and class, group and group, race and race, who do not live intellectually, emotionally and politically upon an island. Therefore if the public schools inculcate a group, a class or a racial insularity, they stand condemned. That is, ultimately, the sole charge against them which matters, and on that charge it seems impossible to acquit them. The public-school type, the average public-school product is indisputably insular ; his mind is insulated, his feelings are insulated, his manners are insulated, his politics are insulated ; his very excellence is rooted in his insularity. Intellectually he can rarely see beyond the island coasts of his peculiar culture ; socially the majority who do not speak

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his language or conform to his code are removed from any vital contact with his life by "a salt, unplumbed, estranging sea"; politically he is a conspicuous islander, for whom the affairs of the outer world are remote and of secondary importance. Can the average public-school man make himself at home in a gathering of working-class intellectuals with their scholarly allusions to Marx or Sorel or Sidney Webb or Hammond? Can he live on terms of any real equality with miners or factory hands or common seamen or petty tradesmen? In such an alien society he is uncomfortable and they are uncomfortable; his every word betrays his exclusive caste. It is a commonplace to hear an English public-school man speak of the natives of any country other than his own in which he may be travelling as 'foreigners'; he does so instinctively; it is the habit of his mind. Wherever he goes he makes his island, his little England in the desert, his little

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club of public-school Brahmins in Simla or Hong-Kong. The average public-school man is an islander, and a 'little islander' at that in all his ways.

That insularity is no accidental accretion ; the whole apparatus of the public-school system, its cultural atmosphere, its traditions, its peculiar social hierarchy and code of conduct, its regimentation of sport and leisure, work in concert to give the boy that bent. It has been his virtue ; it is his vice. If he escapes it he is not true to type. The fact that public-school education has now its 'modern side,' that all public schools to some extent and some public schools to a great extent have bowed the knee in the temple of science, cannot alter the fact that their atmosphere and traditions remain impregnated with the traditional culture, the 'culture of a gentleman,' the culture of a small and insulated class, and that all the immense daily pressure of social and athletic life at a

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public school, admittedly so much more potent a factor in the process of producing the public-school type than such intellectual training as the system affords, is steadily directed towards an insulation of culture and class which inevitably brings a political insulation with it.

A specialized aptitude may be superimposed on the peculiar culture of mind and character which the public schools impart, but the main current of life and thought is determined by the deep channels carved in the consciousness by early education, and in the preparatory and public schools of England that education still runs in the old channels of this traditional and insulated culture. A boy may be permitted to specialize in his studies at a certain age, but by that time his mind is 'set'; although he may no longer follow the high-road of the traditional culture, he continues to live and breathe in the atmosphere soaked in that tradition.

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In short, for all its concessions to other forms of culture, public-school education makes for insularity ; it digs a deep moat round a mind strongly fortified against all the world outside its walls. Other types of men and mind, other races, other codes, other ideas than those which obtain within, are ' outsiders ' ; at their challenge the portcullis of a *noli me tangere* manner automatically falls and the drawbridge of a group-exclusiveness is raised.

This process of armouring and insulating our leaders has been the sub-conscious reaction of our race to its special conditions, conditions which called for a breed of armoured and warrior knights for conquest and rule. In a recent address at Oxford the Archbishop of Canterbury affirmed that " in English education we have been mainly training the sub-conscious self. . . . English education has been quite unconsciously directed toward the

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unconscious. We have been mainly concerned to train people's spontaneous reactions to the situations in which they may find themselves." That is a very true word as regards the public schools. Past conditions required a class of fighting and dominating leaders of men ; the public schools produced them. Those conditions required that these leaders should be armoured with an invincible self-assurance and immune from alien ideas ; the armour of a rigid class-consciousness and the immunity of an effective insularity of mind were forthcoming. But conditions have changed ; the antiquated armour is a menace, the insularity is a handicap ; the leaders who are now required are leaders able to guide and co-operate rather than to drive and command, to come out into the open rather than to dominate from fortified cities. The creation of the public-school system and the governing classes was indeed an unconscious one, but the adjustment

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must be a conscious one if that system and those classes are not to be left stranded by the racing tide of modern life. We cannot afford to let the subconscious genius of the race make its leisurely adjustments ; the crisis which is upon us is too urgent a one for that.

The conclusion of the whole matter would, therefore, seem to be this. The modern need is for public leaders well rooted in their own native traditions, yet able to appreciate other traditions, loyal to the domestic claims of their own groups, yet capable of co-operation with other groups, engineers who can bridge the gaps between group and group rather than captains trained to the conquest, subjugation and armed rule of other groups. In so far as the typical public-school product is broad-based on an ancient and great tradition, is trained to public service, to leadership and self-discipline, that product is good for modern needs. In so far as it is insulated, habituated to domination,

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and narrowly exclusive, it is bad. The present public-school product is conspicuous both for the former qualities and for the latter defects. The problem is not, therefore, that of superseding a system of education which produces so much that is vitally necessary, but of readapting it to modern conditions, of retaining the qualities whilst remedying the defects. If politics is now concerned with 'democracy under revision,' the education of the middle and upper classes of England is now a problem of the public-school system under revision. In view of the qualities required for leaders of the new world and the defects of the leader-class produced by the public schools which have been considered, how can that revision best be accomplished ?

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CHAPTER V

THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS UNDER REVISION

It has been said earlier in this essay that if the defects of the existing public-school type were to be modified, its qualities would lose their efficiency. That is so for the purpose for which the type has hitherto been bred ; insularity of mind was necessary for effective domination. Is that type therefore amenable to revision for the purposes of the new leadership which the times require ? Would not this blade lose both temper and edge in the process of re-forging ?

If the defects which now render it unfit for leadership under modern conditions were radical defects, or the qualities which have still their value for

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that purpose were superficial qualities, such an attempt must be in vain. But it is, I think, clear that, in reality, the reverse is the case. The defects, the tendency to domination, the exaggerated insularity, that ascetic philistinism which instinctively fears to confuse the capacity for clear decision and action by too much thought or feeling, are not necessarily inherent in the public-school process ; they have been formed by the pressure of the conditions which the type has had to confront. The qualities of self-reliance, of reliability, of leadership, of endurance and determination, and of discipline, which the system has produced, are radical qualities, and there seems no good reason why those qualities should not continue to be bred, while those defects are eradicated. The problem is that of turning swords into ploughshares. The governing class which the public schools have bred in the past did indeed govern by the sword ; the class of new leaders

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which our times require must put off the sword-belt if they are to lead. The public-school system forged a metal of splendid temper ; conditions determined the final sword-shape which that metal assumed ; but the steel which can be welded into swords can be wrought into sickles or plough-shares of no less a merit ; the class which has ruled by domination in one age may lead by co-operation in the next. The change is not easy, but it is not impossible. When once the needs of the new situation are faced, the revision of educational method will follow. But the public-school world is, by its very nature, conservative and self-sufficient ; recognition of the new realities will not readily or rapidly penetrate its fortifications, and the revision of the system from within seems likely to be too slow a process to be contemplated with patience while the new world burns. In the meantime it seems that the only forward move which can give prompt

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results must take place in some milieu detached from that world, the soil of which is calculated to modify in the desired direction the growth of the traditional seed.

The public-school system can be revised ; the tradition can be retained and the tendency re-orientated ; it can be done and it must be done if the needs of this new world are to be met. The disabling defect of the present public-school type has been seen to be that insularity from which the tendency to dominate rather than to co-operate ensues, and it has been seen that this insularity involves insularity of culture, insularity of class and insularity of political outlook. That mental insularity is inevitably bred by our present public-school system, and the tendency towards it is not lessened by our geographical position.

How is the requisite revision of the public-school system to be attained ?

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We have arrived at a stage when concrete proposals will be claimed by every realist educationist, and the following tentative suggestions are, therefore, put forward as a basis of an educational scheme for the revision of prevalent public-school methods.

In order to counteract the cultural, social and political insularity which we have found to be the damning defect of the present public-school type, while retaining its traditional virtue, it is suggested, firstly, that the education of leaders of the new world should take place in some milieu outside our island walls, in schools organized on a federal rather than an international basis, where contact with other national groups and types will be constant and close with a view to the elimination of that 'foreigner' complex which now inhibits our statecraft, and cripples effective co-operation between national groups ; secondly, that a far greater place should be given in the educational

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curriculum to the history of world civilization, to science and to sociology and civics than is at present the case, with a view to counteracting the existing culture-complex which inhibits co-operation between classes and cultures ; and thirdly, since it is admitted that good education should be education for citizenship and should follow the track worn by the travelling race of man, that the scholastic organization should include some scheme of graduated self-government and the constant practice of civic responsibility in place of the autocracy of the traditional public-school administration.

In order that such destructive criticism of the public-school system as this essay contains may be complemented by definite constructive proposals embodying its conclusions, a note on the foundation of a centre for the education of leaders of the new world such as it contemplates is printed as an appendix to it. It will be obvious

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that this is no more than a '*ballon d'essai*' inviting the winds of criticism. Let those who can criticize ; let those who will promote or amend it.

But if the principle of federalism in education which is here proposed is to be carried to a logical conclusion, though the establishment of one such federal school may be the beginning, it cannot be the end of the matter. A federated system of such schools in the leading countries of the civilized world, working upon a common educational policy, with a free interchange of staff and pupils and an intimate inter-relation, is a necessary, if distant, corollary to it.

Such a conception will, no doubt, appear startling to most, impracticable to many, and to some, maybe, wrong in principle. With the latter (if they have persisted so far) we have no more to do than confidently to expect their condemnation. But those who, at first sight, criticize the conception, not as wrong in principle, but as too audacious,

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visionary or grandiose to be feasible in practice, we would ask to think well before condemning it on such grounds. Great dangers demand daring policies. Is the peril which plainly threatens our civilization less than great? Is our present system of insulated education that which is fitting the present generation or will fit the rising generation to meet it? Is there any radical remedy for our condition save in education at the roots? If such questions are squarely faced against the greatness of the issues, such an educational policy as that suggested may seem less grandiose than it would at first appear.

In the eye of history it may also seem less impracticable. Such a surmounting of frontiers as federalism in education implies, is, after all, less apparently impossible a consummation than when the ideas of monasticism or the Renaissance stormed frontiers more impregnable against odds more vast and an obscurantism more dark. What the

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mind of man deeply thinks, in the end it strongly wills, and what it wills with strength at the last comes to pass ; that will does not know the impossible. But there is little sign that as yet it has thought deeply or willed strongly upon this urgent matter.

The problems of education and of the survival of our civilization are interlocked ; the key of the future lies not at Geneva but in the schools of the future. We must educate for peace and co-operation if we would avoid that final catastrophe which impends upon us. And that will not be done by a complacent acquiescence in things as they are or in a vague dissemination of mild international sentiments in schools. What Mr Madariaga has said excellently in his " Disarmament," rings home upon that problem of the education of the leaders of the new world which we have considered here, and with that astringent truth this essay may well conclude.

" The world is not going to conquer

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peace and then sleep on its laurels and roses ; for the instincts of war are ever alive and so the instincts of peace must be ever awatch. A point which peace-bleaters usually forget, for they see peace as a rest between men, while peace is the organization of men to fight against the evils of war by co-operative means. No institutions, no co-operation ; no co-operation, no peace. . . . Easier, ten times easier to drift into war than to defend peace against the ever-recurring attacks of the war disease. The world must know that if it wants peace it must work hard for it."

Mr Madariaga will, no doubt, forgive, and will, I believe, approve an adaptation of his saying. If the world wants peace, it must educate for peace.

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A NOTE ON THE FOUNDATION OF A FEDERAL SCHOOL

(1) *Purpose*.—The conception of the school is based on the principle of federalism between the races of the civilized world and the cultural and social groups which it comprehends ; its aim is the education of a citizen of the world able to take a world view without ceasing to be a patriotic citizen of the State or the group to which he belongs. To this end it is believed that federalism and not internationalism is the true means. That belief is based on the following convictions :

(a) That a world view of politics and a capacity for co-operation between racial, cultural and social

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groups is now essential to the safeguarding and progress of civilization ;

(b) That the present generation, however individuals may realize and admit this necessity, is fettered in instinct and volition by separatist habits of mind ; that these habits are due to separatist systems of education (since man is governed more by habit than by reason and our habit of mind is radically separatist), and that this generation is therefore commonly unable to overcome the inhibitions and provincialisms of mind which menace our peace ;

(c) That such habits of mind, together with the separatist reactions (founded upon fear and the craving for security) which have characterized post-War history, can only end, sooner or later, in another European conflict in which civilization will probably collapse ;

(d) That ' Internationalism ' is

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unhistoric and unsound in so far as it tends to suppress national characteristics, traditions and patriotisms and to intensify a reaction towards nationalism ;

(e) That the next step in the evolution of a world-polity is federalism—*i.e.*, a combination of nations and groups for the protection and furtherance of their common civilization and interests ;

(f) That the over-nationalist, separatist, and dominating habit of mind can be corrected, and a mentality more favourable to a world-view of world-problems and to the principles of federalism and co-operation can be produced, by a system of education based on the federal principle together with a greater concentration upon the teaching of those subjects which are the common heritage of mankind, which shall be universal in scope and free from separatist bias ;

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(2) *Site*.—For the purpose stated it is believed that Switzerland is the most suitable centre owing to :

(a) Its central position in Europe, facilitating contact with most of the chief groups of the modern world ;

(b) Its linguistic facilities ;

(c) The presence of the League of Nations, with which such a school should be in close contact ;

(d) Its system of federal government, providing a valuable political object lesson in the principles and possibilities of federation.

(3) *Organization*.—It is proposed that the school should be organized in separate groups according to nationality, each group being housed either in separate houses or in semi-detached blocks of the main building, with central and common schoolrooms, lecture-hall, dining-hall, recreation-rooms, library, chapel, etc. Each group will have its own group-staff under a Group Head-

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master (of the same nationality as the group), while the group staffs will be correlated and controlled by a central Directorate. Staffs of groups will be interchangeable for the purpose of modern languages and those subjects and activities for which a foreign language is not detrimental to efficiency. The size of the staff will be governed by the principle that there should be one teaching master to every ten boys.

(4) *Education*.—The education given will be governed by the principles stated above, but will otherwise conform to the educational requirements of the respective countries concerned, with a view to giving each boy as effective and practical an education as he would receive in the best schools in his own country. Heads of groups, working under the general control and supervision of the Directorate, will be responsible for the curricula of their groups, which will be arranged to meet the requirements of the various examination

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systems. History, languages, science, sociology and allied subjects will be taught with a special view to the objects of the school, and correlation of subjects will be practised wherever possible. Each boy will be required to study Universal History, at least one modern language and literature other than his own, and to take a course of general science during his school career. The group staffs will teach in the group languages since it is believed that an efficient education cannot be given in a foreign tongue. For purposes of general intercourse English and French will be the official languages.

(5) *Athletics*.—It is believed that team games have a definite and desirable educative value for a school of the type contemplated, but that in the English public schools in particular they have often been allowed to usurp too large a place in the system. Such team games will therefore be encouraged without being made a fetish, and will be super-

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vised by a games master and a central sports committee. A healthy rivalry between groups will be encouraged, provided that school teams, chosen impartially from all groups, have the first claim on each boy's patriotic feeling.

At the same time the desirability of allowing each boy to develop resource and self-confidence by the individual employment of his leisure time (under proper supervision) will not be lost sight of, and country and mountain expeditions, camping, climbing and winter sports will be encouraged with this end in view.

(6) *Discipline*.—The aim of the school is to cultivate a type, with not only breadth but dedication of mind and a sense of duty towards the traditions and civilization which he has inherited as, firstly, a citizen of the world, and secondly, a citizen of that nation or a member of that cultural or social group to which, by the accident of birth, he

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belongs. He will be trained to regard the achievements of humanity in its politics, arts, and sciences as a warfare against chaos, ignorance, and disorder, and himself as a soldier in that enduring conflict in which, by reason of his education, he is especially equipped to lead. He will be taught to obey in order that in the future he may learn to lead, and that his highest freedom and self-expression consist in service to the cause of civilization. The aim of the school will be to train a boy in the exercise of self-control and later of leadership. With this end in view discipline will be maintained on the lines of the English public-school system with 'prefects' elected by a Council on which both staff and boys will be represented. There will be certain essential school regulations, but these will be made as few as possible, and the reason for them will always be made plain.

(7) *Co-operation*.—While the school

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will be organized on the group principle which has been described, and within bounds, a group *esprit de corps* will be encouraged (as a house-spirit is encouraged in English public schools without detriment to the *esprit de corps* of the school), every possible encouragement and stimulus will be given to the promotion of a corporate feeling and loyalty for the school as a whole. With this purpose there will be a school magazine common to all groups, school prefects (as distinct from group prefects) elected from the whole school impartially, a school council on which all groups will be represented, and school societies (debating, literary and scientific) in which all groups will co-operate.

(8) *Religion*.—It is believed that a true and whole education should be based on religion, and that religion should not be confined to chapel services on Sundays. Although boys of other faiths will not be excluded, and facilities for the practice of their faith will be

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provided, the religion of the school will be Christian and limited in doctrine to the broad elements of Christianity common to all Christian Churches. Doctrinal religious teaching, when required, will be supplementary to this. As far as it is possible to do so, in view of the fact that a boy cannot be expected to worship sincerely in a foreign language, services will be arranged according to groups. In addition to such services it will be the aim of the school to convey a sane and sincere religious tone into all its activities, to emphasize the religious nature of the unbiased weighing of evidence and thorough scrutiny of facts, of a candid and courageous pursuit of truth and the understanding and appreciation of beauty, of a clean and hard austerity of living and thinking, of school friendships and loyalties, and particularly of that dedication and service to civilization which it is the first aim of the school to inculcate.

(9) *Touring*.—A special feature will

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be made of yearly tours in European countries (and later, it is hoped, in the New World also), with a view, not to mere sight-seeing, but to an acquirement of knowledge of social, industrial and political conditions in foreign countries and an understanding of the mentalities of other races. Such tours will be annual and progressive.

(10) *Endowment Fund*.—In accordance with the aim of the foundation, the school will be adapted with a view to those classes in the countries of Europe and the New World most likely, from their culture, heredity, wealth, or position, to influence the course of world-politics in the future, *i.e.*, from the monied classes. Every possible advantage as regards premises and modern equipment will be provided, and it is considered essential that the staff should be of the highest quality and so salaried and provided for that no monetary anxiety for present or future shall lower the quality

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of their work. The fees will therefore be high, but reducible at the discretion of the Directorate.

At the same time in order to provide for boys of the right type, the situation of whose parents forbids the payment of high fees, an endowment fund will be instituted and a proportion of free or assisted places will be reserved.

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